HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section

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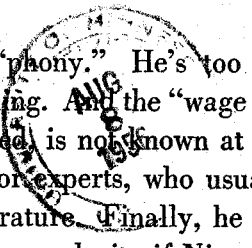

Guide To The Stassen Affair: How did all this start? Those who cover the Hill say it started in October, 1955, after Ike's heart attack. The Vice President was informally conversing with several prominent members of the Senate and mentioned the White House Palace Guard. He rather vigorously promised that, if fate decreed that he should succeed to the Number One place, he would do some cleaning out in the Executive Mansion. This remark got around to the Palace Guard, spurred their opposition to him and made the ambitious Stassen their stalking-horse.

● What damage has Stassen done? Observers here believe it is substantial. They figure it this way: Because it is widely assumed that the Minnesotan enjoys backing from powerful Eastern internationalist circles, the implication of the Stassen revolt is that these internationalists now fear that Ike may not be able to run because of illness or if he runs and wins, he may not be able to complete his term and they want to ensure another candidate to their liking. They may well be wrong in their fear — but that is the picture they and their friend Stassen present to the public. And this picture encourages the Democrats in their exploitation of the health issue. It's not good — admit many GOP members privately.

● Why do Nixon's anonymous opponents refuse to come out openly? Because, they realize that only a heartbeat separates Nixon from the Presidency, that if something happens suddenly to Ike, Nixon will be President, head of the Administration and of the Republican party and he will be in a position to take vengeance.

● What's Nixon's strength among the people? Very considerable, it is estimated here. The manifesto of House members (180 out of 202 members) in favor of him indicates strong party and grass roots support. Backing in the Senate, it is claimed, is even greater. The Stassen "poll" (at least what he's said about it) is classified by many newspapermen here as a "phony." He's too reticent about it, under questioning. And the "wage earner" poll, which he mentioned, is not known at all to a number of Capital labor experts, who usually are familiar with such literature. Finally, he took no poll on the loss of voter popularity if Nixon should be ditched. Members of Congress say that if that unhappy event should occur, the effects on the ticket's voting support would be nothing short of disastrous to the GOP.

● How is this going to affect the convention two weeks hence? Observers believe that Eisenhower's "aloof" attitude from the Nixon-Stassen conflict ensures that the convention will be "split" on this issue, and it is feared that another scrap reminiscent of the Taft-Ike struggle in 1952 will result. There is apprehension among Nixon supporters lest the Stassen backers have created the makings of a "blitz" to put pressure on delegates to the convention (something like this occurred in 1952). Other observers doubt this, think that Stassen and friends started too late to affect the present preponderant sentiment for Nixon.

● What are the men behind Stassen shooting for? In the short run, Sherman Adams for Vice President — this is one view. Adams would be safe and sound from their standpoint. In the longer pull, they do not want Nixon in the Number Two place after an Ike victory for re-election for several reasons. For one thing, Ike might die or be so disabled that he would have to retire. Then — these elements fear — Nixon would turn to conservative elements for support.

Also, the fact is that by the 22nd Amendment to the Constitution, Ike cannot run for a third term, which puts him in a weak position after the election. Then Nixon, in his strategic position as Vice President might well — with the help of conservative members of Congress — get control of the party.

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Herter: Harold Stassen's bid to replace Vice President Nixon with Massachusetts Governor Christian Herter is one of those things that Washington has come to expect of Childe Harold. Herter has the distinction of being further left in his views on foreign policy than most Democrats. Speaking before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations last March 15, Herter came up with a proposal that, in the opinion of most observers, outstrips anything the New Dealers have developed in the way of spending tax money without results.

Because "the true justification for economic assistance is the building of economic strength," which is "the foundation of freedom," said Herter, "we should offer to coordinate our aid with whatever assistance the Soviet Union is willing to provide. If the Soviet Union proposes to build a steel mill, we should not feel bound to offer to build the same mill on more favorable conditions. We should, on the contrary, be willing to work out both with the Soviet and with the recipient country a program to which both the Soviet and ourselves can each contribute."

Democratic Strategy: The Stassen maneuver served as a signal to Democratic directors of campaign strategy to intensify efforts toward achieving party harmony at the convention, it is privately disclosed to HUMAN EVENTS. The first fruit of these efforts was Kefauver's retirement from the race and a spate of rumors that he would take second place.

Be that as it may. No one here doubts that the Democratic GHQ, quite sincerely and without any undue wishful thinking, has diagnosed the GOP convention situation as one of a true party split — and the donkey will play it that way. So, it is natural that most observers leap to the conclusion that Stevenson's nomination victory is inevitable.

It may be, but that leaves out — say veterans here — the imponderable Mr. Truman who can hardly regard the Stevenson ascent with delight. Truman is temperamental and carries a lot of weight with party leaders. What he will do at the convention is a subject of much speculation here.

Democratic Veeps: Seemingly-authentic reports circulate that Southern Democratic leaders are seeking to exercise a veto against Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts as possible Vice-Presidential nominee.

They raise two objections against Kennedy: (1) They say the fact that he is a Catholic, while it may help the ticket in heavily-Catholic northern areas, will hurt in the South; and (2) the fact that he comes from a northern textile state will engender distrust in many southern textile mill areas.

Concerning the religious angle, they say the upsurge of bitter feelings over the segregation issue has tended to revive the widespread anti-Catholicism which formerly permeated the South and cost Al Smith many votes in the 1928 election. They say there is no doubt that Kennedy's presence on the ticket would cost it many thousands of votes in the South.

On the textile issue, they point to the smoldering antagonism between northern and southern branches of the industry; either faction, they say, would greatly fear having a representative of the other faction in such a high position as the Vice-Presidency.

Kennedy has been named by Adlai Stevenson, now the odds-on favorite for the Democratic presidential nomination, along with Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, as the most likely looking prospects for the second-place nomination.

Humphrey this week formally tossed his hat into the Vice-Presidential ring, a rather unusual procedure in that most politicians are unwilling to admit they want a second place even though privately they may be moving heaven and earth to win it. Humphrey, say pundits, at least must be admired for his frankness.

Another peculiar twist to the Humphrey story is that after the Minnesota primary, in which he staked his full influence and support in the unsuccessful campaign to win the state's delegation for Stevenson, he was regarded by many as probably on the downgrade politically; now he is rated a leading possibility to be Stevenson's running mate.

Labor Platform: Despite the apparent success of Administration labor policies, a sharp fight is brewing over the labor plank to be part of the platform presented to the Republican National Convention two weeks hence.

The battle lines are shaping up over proposals now being circulated tentatively by Secretary

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Mitchell, apparently with the idea that if they generate too great opposition he will drop them. In general, they constitute major concessions to union positions on several points of the Taft-Hartley law; but their most controversial point would put the GOP on record as opposed to state right-to-work laws.

There seems to be relatively little chance of Mitchell succeeding in his effort, particularly on the latter point. Most GOP legislators and party officials feel the right-to-work laws have much more equity and fairness on their side than does the opposition of unions; furthermore, they feel it would be highly improper for a national platform to be undertaking to tell states what they should do.

Most top Republicans are disinclined to have their party appear to be kowtowing to unions. They feel it has far more to gain by making its appeal directly to individual workers, by calling to their attention the benefits they derive from a Republican Administration.

Even with such a campaign pitch, it appears more and more unlikely that the AFL-CIO will go on record officially as favoring either presidential ticket. Many left-wing affiliated unions, such as Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers, undoubtedly will go all out for the Democratic nominee, but the passage of time is making it most doubtful that the parent organization will do likewise.

Union Politics: Labor unions, enviously eyeing the contract won by the United Steel Workers with its "package" increase of close to 50 cents an hour over a three-year period, are beginning to wonder whether the Eisenhower Administration's hands-off labor policy may not have some advantages after all.

Two Cabinet members, Secretaries of Labor James P. Mitchell and of Treasury, George M. Humphrey, did intervene to the extent of privately imploring steel company officials to tone down their adamancy and see if USW President David J. McDonald would not meet them half-way; they did and he did.

But there was no blustery Government intervention as there was four years ago, when President Truman seized the steel industry only to have the seizure declared invalid by the Supreme Court and an ensuing eight-weeks strike (this year, one month) was broken only by extreme White House pressure to accept an agreement it had hammered out.

Under the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations, union leaders always felt they had friends in the White House who would help their cause in any dispute. Now, with the Eisenhower Administration (which most of them opposed in the 1952 campaign) in control and practicing hands-off toward contract disputes, they find the steel workers union winning for its 650,000 members one of the most advantageous agreements ever recorded by any union. It causes them to wonder.

A further evidence of the success of the Administration policy is seen by observers in preliminary figures just released by the Labor Department showing strikes were fewer and caused less idleness in June than in any June since the Korean War year of 1951. July figures, of course, will show a huge jump because of the steel walk-out; but the June figures are regarded as much more indicative of the relative labor peace without Government interference.

Farm Fight: A showdown fight between the Eisenhower-Benson flexible farm price support program and the socialistic Truman-Brannan rigid high price support program, shapes up in the Colorado campaign for the Senate seat being vacated by retiring GOP Senator Eugene Millikin.

Former Governor Dan Thornton, a personal friend and ardent follower of President Eisenhower, already has been tapped as GOP nominee for Millikin's seat. Truman's Secretary of Agriculture, Charles "Baldy" Brannan, is expected to win the Democratic nomination in a September primary against former Representative John Carroll, who has lost two previous bids for the Senate.

Thornton, accepting the nomination, challenged Brannan to debate the farm problem "on any platform in Colorado or outside of it." Brannan, obviously seeking to broaden the campaign's base, answered by asserting his willingness to debate with Thornton "any time and any place and on any problem — not just the farm problem."

Thornton also jibed indirectly at the fact that Brannan, since departing the Cabinet, has spent most of his time practicing law in Washington, declaring that "I'm not a synthetic farmer" and challenging Brannan "to a cotton-picking, wheat-

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shocking, cow-milking, calf-roping or calf-branding" contest.

Brannan goes into the campaign with the support of the far-left National Farmers Union and some equally-liberal unions strong in Colorado's mining industries. Thornton, however, probably will have the support of established farm organizations like the National Grange and the Farm Bureau Federation; furthermore, his two elections to the governorship have proved his vote-pulling ability. It could go either way, but Thornton, at this stage, probably would be rated a slight favorite.

BOOK EVENT: *The Enemy At His Back,* by Elizabeth Churchill Brown. Foreword by Senator William F. Knowland. The Bookmailer, Box 101, New York 16, N. Y. Price $4.00.

This book is a painstaking account — with even more dramatic overtones than the title suggests — of how the victories of the patriotic American soldier did not materialize because the enemy in his rear at home sold out his gains. The enemy, of course, is the Communist, the fellow-traveller, the "liberal" innocent and other dupes in and out of high office.

Elizabeth Brown has put together the tale of this duplicity mainly out of rockbottom facts taken from congressional hearings, but also from the — at times — startling admissions in the published memoirs of statesmen and military men. Additionally, these solid facts are greatly illuminated by other material gathered by the author's own reportorial skill from her news sources. She is the wife of Constantine Brown, Foreign Editor of the Washington *Star* and nationally syndicated columnist. Hence, she has been in an excellent position to obtain the "inside" picture of many important events with which she deals in the book. The volume has a foreword by Senator William F. Knowland, in which he hails the book as "of value to all individuals anxious for a world of free men."

One big theme developed by the author revolves around the question — was it essential to bring the Russians into the Pacific War? The writer marshals from military men — admirals and generals — an impressive array of statements to bring out the fact that they recognized at the time that Russian intervention was not needed to put an end to an already dying Nipponese Empire. Why then did we pursue such a course? "They" — the enemy — as the author phrases it, pushed us along this path: that is the answer. She quotes Senator Jenner, who in 1954 contended that the real enemy in our foreign relations was not the opposing soldier, but certain individuals hidden behind the combat lines in various capitals of the world. Victory in Korea, he claimed, was denied us by an unidentified "They."

The author throws fresh light on "They." She sought out Admiral Leahy who had a ringside seat at the big show. "Privately, he has told the story that at Yalta one of the security officers approached him with the warning that it would not be a good idea to mention high level secrets in the presence of Alger Hiss. Astonished, the Admiral snorted the obvious question: 'What'd they bring him here for?' The security officer shrugged and replied that the selection of the Presidential advisers was not in his province; he could only inform the Executive of their security status."

One great scene in the Pacific conflict emerges more clearly after reading *The Enemy At His Back.* When the U. S. dropped the first atomic bomb at Hiroshima, Americans assumed it was an exclusively American secret weapon. But the "Enemy At His Back" this time was Harry Hopkins, who as a sort of "Assistant President" to FDR "ran the whole damn war." Major Racey Jordan in 1949 told his story — how he had served as a forwarding official to expedite Lend-lease to Russia, at a staging airport in Montana during the war; how he noticed nuclear material, blueprints and files of information going out to Russia through this channel; how he traced the responsibility for this leak to Hopkins, tried to warn Washington superiors of what was going on and was slapped down for his pains.

This and other vivid examples of the hidden enemy that sells us out, weakens our defenses and promotes appeasement of Soviet Russia are carefully described in this work, which is no chapter of dusty history, but a living warning as to what may happen tomorrow. In the literature of "revisionism," *The Enemy At His Back* ranks high alongside such works as John T. Flynn's *The Lattimore Story* and *While You Slept.*

The Enemy At His Back is a book worth buying for (1) yourself; (2) the Public Library; (3) your son or daughter in college; (4) their professors. You can buy it from HUMAN EVENTS at the bookstore price of $4.

Letter from HOMER E. CAPEHART, U.S. Senator from Indiana: "I think HUMAN EVENTS has been a valuable contribution to the thinking of our times. It has been of considerable assistance to me."

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor and Publisher* JAMES L. WICK, *Executive Publisher*
Contributing Editors: FRANK CHODOROV, WILLIS J. BALLINGER

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Article Section

INVESTIGATIONS THEN AND NOW
How The GOP Split in 1910

By FREDERIC NELSON

IF YOU think the Republican party is having troubles, you should have seen it in 1910. Nineteen hundred and ten was the second year of the Administration of William Howard Taft and the first year of the Great Rebellion by the "insurgents" — mostly Republicans — who couldn't stomach the Taft policies on the Tariff, the Trusts, the railroads and Uncle Joe Cannon. Also, 1910 was the year when the Republicans lost Congress and when the first mutterings of a third party were heard. Finally, 1910 was the year of the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy and of one of the longest Congressional Investigations on record.

There isn't much point in digging up the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy after all these years except to mark at least one difference between the politics of darkest 1910 and the politics of the enlightened 1950's. That difference is in the attitude toward Congressional investigations, then and now.

It must be remembered that, before Congress got into the act, some very nasty charges had been made against members of the Taft Administration. Louis R. Glavis, chief of the United States Land Office's field division at Seattle, had accused Mr. Taft's Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger, of using his position to support claims made by favorites, including the Guggenheim interests, to coal lands in Alaska. Glavis took his story to Taft, who, after an investigation, sustained Secretary Ballinger and fired Glavis on September 13, 1909.

The fat was promptly in the fire. Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the U.S. Forestry Bureau, and a horde of conservationists, who are never reconciled to seeing land used for anything but hunting and fishing, swarmed into the arena, denouncing Ballinger as the foe of conservation and a despoiler of natural resources. The "muckraking" magazines also went to town with articles headed, "Are the Guggenheims in Charge of the Interior Department?" etc. Pinchot put in his fifteen cents worth by providing material from his departmental files for newspaper articles tending to support the Glavis charges in direct defiance of a Presidential order. So Taft had no choice but to fire Pinchot.*

*That President Taft was right in describing the attacks on Secretary Ballinger as "the most cruel persecution that I am familiar with in modern times" is strongly indicated in an article which the late Harold Ickes wrote for the *Saturday Evening Post* of May 25, 1940. In that article Ickes, who had long believed Ballinger guilty and even gave Glavis a job when the New Deal took over in 1933, produced facts which, had they been adequately presented in 1909 and 1910, would doubtless have saved the Taft Administration and might have changed the course of history.

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Then came the Congressional Investigation. It should be noted that a probe by Congress was demanded, not by the "insurgents" in Congress, nor by a fearless press, but by President Taft himself, who said he was much concerned to have the investigation "thoroughly fair and impartial as well as comprehensive and complete." It seems not to have occurred to him that there was any reason to oppose an inquiry by a committee of Congress or to anticipate a "climate of fear" if members of his Cabinet were asked to testify before it. Nor did the President refuse requests for information or papers, on the ground that he couldn't expose the intrafamily affairs of his Administration to nosey members of Congress.

Of course, the Republicans controlled Congress in 1909 and the Administration could have expected to go through the hearings in a breeze. However, the "insurgents" and the Democrats had strength enough in the House to keep the appointment of its representatives on the joint committee away from Speaker Joe Cannon. The Senate named mostly stalwarts of the Old Guard. The majority of the committee ended up by finding for Ballinger, but the minority made the most noise and gave the Administration many a bad morning during the long months consumed by the hearings.

Some of these bad mornings were the result of some pretty stupid work by subordinates in the Taft Cabinet, not to mention the cabinet members themselves. For example on May 15, 1910, a male stenographer in Secretary Ballinger's office produced an affidavit stating that the letter which President Taft had written the previous September explaining the dismissal of Glavis was a dead ringer for a letter which Oscar Lawler, of Ballinger's legal staff, had written a few days earlier under Ballinger's direction. The stenographer went on to say that his notebook and all rough drafts of the letter had been "burned in a grate" by Ballinger's private secretary.

THOSE who think Senator McCarthy has been too tough on the White House could profitably read up on the 1910 version of "Congressional encroachment," as our columnists of 1956 call it. The President then was being accused of making an important executive decision at the dictation of the very man he was supposed to be investigating! Major Archie Butt wrote in his diary, "The President showed the utter falsity of this statement . . . but for a President to be forced to offer proofs to substantiate his own statement is approaching the limit." As a matter of fact, it *was* approaching the limit, but nobody appeared to think the limit had been reached — least of all President Taft. Instead, he and his subordinates fell over each other in their efforts to satisfy the curiosity of the committee and Louis D. Brandeis, whom *Collier's* Magazine had engaged as counsel for Mr. Glavis.

The President first insisted that he had written his letter as a result of his own investigation. But when it was pointed out that certain paragraphs in the Taft letter were identical with paragraphs in the Lawler letter, Attorney General Wickersham leaped into the breach to explain that the

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Lawler letter had not been sent to the joint committee with other material because it had been "overlooked." But by this time the President himself had agreed that parts of his letter had been based on Mr. Lawler's "memorandum."

Much trouble could have been avoided if somebody had thought earlier to describe Mr. Lawler's letter as a "memorandum." After all, what the President had done was to get somebody to "brief him" on the case. He could have declared that the way he wrote letters firing people was strictly his own business, even if he copied reams from Holy Writ or the Declaration of Independence. But in those days, one didn't tell Congress to mind its own business, even when it ought to have.

A few days later, the Attorney General, George Wickersham, got into a similar pickle. It seems that, among the documents filed by President Taft with the investigating committee, was a 74-page report by the Attorney General giving the legal reasons why a field division chief shouldn't go over the head of his boss to the President of the United States. The astute Mr. Brandeis thought he spotted internal evidence that the President could not have seen the Wickersham report before writing his famous letter to Glavis. Mr. Brandeis charged that the Wickersham report had been antedated to make it appear to have been written earlier. Wickersham was put on the griddle and, having no Drummonds or Alsops to defend him from the premature McCarthyism of the day, another member of Mr. Taft's Cabinet was pushed around until he admitted that the President had not seen his completed report but only some "rough notes" on which the report was based. As the Attorney General put it, "The summary was necessarily made up afterwards and properly bears the date of the day when the things it contains were presented and considered by the President."

Again, this was a minor matter which in 1956 would be considered a part of the intrafamily chit-chat (such as: How much war materiel are our allies sending behind the Iron Curtain?) which is not for rabbit ears in Congress. But those were the days when the power of Congress to investigate was taken for granted, even by a "strong" President like Theodore Roosevelt who lived on denunciations of Senators as "stand patters" and "men who lead soft lives."

Earlier Presidents, including Buchanan and Jackson, had waxed eloquent in defiance of Congressional inquisitors, and Corwin, in his *The President: Office and Powers* (New York University Press) declares that it is "certain that a Congressional committee could not require a President to attend its proceedings, answer questions, or produce documents." But this was not the view either of President Taft — or of the Washington cliff dwellers who listened to Mr. Lawler's explanation to the investigators of his memorandum to Mr. Taft. It is recorded that the audience "hissed" Mr. Lawler, who "snarled": "Geese and snakes are the only creatures which make such sounds."

THE TAFT Administration had many solid virtues, but skill in public relations was not one of them.

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Taft believed, as he later wrote in *Our Chief Magistrate* that "the President can exercise no power which cannot be fairly and reasonably traced to some specific grant of power or justly implied and concluded within such express grant as proper and necessary." The claims of Truman and both Roosevelts to "residual executive powers" were foreign to his temperament and understanding of our system of Government.

The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy which aroused such bitterness and popular clamor ranged over a wide field of issues, most of them phony. After all, Taft was as good a conservationist as Pinchot or T. R., and he pushed through Congress a law which went farther than many Pinchotonians dared advocate. He was not, as the indefatigable Butt observed in his diary, "over-indulgent toward reformers," but he went headlong after the trusts as manfully as his grandiloquent predecessor. By 1911 Ballinger was permitted to resign with a letter from Taft describing him as the victim of an "unscrupulous conspiracy," a letter which the New York *Evening Post* summarized in the sentence, "Mr. Taft consents to Mr. Ballinger's departure in a blaze of indignant relief." The Alaska leases were cancelled by Ballinger's successor.

But if anybody on either side of the fence challenged the right of Congress to investigate the Ballinger-Pinchot feud, or demanded to know what "legislative purpose" was being served by all those sassy questions to members of the President's official family, the reference has eluded me. The leaders of the Bull Moose Progressive Party, which wrecked the GOP in 1912, had no quarrel with "star chamber proceedings" by investigating committees. On the contrary, they were crazy about them.

A clue to the character of William H. Taft, and perhaps to his supposed failure in the Presidency, is contained in a letter he wrote to Ballinger on the day he dismissed Glavis. It must be remembered that Gifford Pinchot has denounced and lampooned Taft as brutally and unfairly as a new generation of "progressives" badgered his illustrious son, the late Robert A. Taft, in 1952. Here follows what Taft wrote of his arch foe Pinchot.

"His weakness has been an inability to credit high and honorable motives to those who differ with him . . . I know him well and am very fond of him personally and mean if possible, in spite of this defect, to preserve his great ability, valuable experience and his patriotic, disinterested zeal for the benefit of the public service. Please, therefore, advise your subordinates to be very particular not to involve Mr. Pinchot in this matter."

In politics, tolerance and an honorable regard for the decencies of controversy are too often their own reward.

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Frederic Nelson has been Associate Editor of the *Saturday Evening Post,* in charge of the editorial page, since 1942. Previously, he had been editorial writer for the Baltimore *Sun* from 1929 to 1942. He won the Freedoms Foundation Award, for an editorial, in 1951.

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